contrast to the government, treating such affairs more 622
a sport rather than anything else. Sayyid Ahmad sub- 648
sequently recounted with some pleasure his experiences in
exile, for he did not speak Arabic at the time. He heard
the official in charge of him, for example, called "stupid"
behind his back by subordinates, and concluded that this
was his name, always addressing the unfortunate officer
as "Stupid Beg" until he was finally corrected. In order [522]
to designate the type of meat he desired for his meals,
he was forced to resort to imitations of the animals in
question, and thought his own picture, that of a Kurdish
aristocrat, a son of the great Shaykh Taha, flapping his
arms and crowing to a bewildered Arab orderly, most amus-
ing.

Toward the townspeople, the chieftains are much more 622
friendly, calling them by name and spending long hours 565
talking with those of higher status, such as wealthy mer-
chants. They are not fond of either the <u>chaykhana</u> or the
mosque, although one occasionally finds them there. Insofar [582]
as they do not marry within their own families, they prefer
the daughters of the wealthy merchants and landowners of
the town, for these are supposed to be more "refined," and
hence to have greater prestige, than any village maiden.
The daughter of Ra'uf Effendi, for example, is married to
an aristocrat from elsewhere in the district, Agha Rashid
Agha (the first agha here used as a proper name). Among 565
themselves, there is extensive community of interest and 622
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social exchange, extending beyond the district itself, according to certain alignments. Lali Khan always has a number of visitors, such as Sayyid Ahmad and his brothers, and the same is true, to a lesser extent, of Sadiq Agha. These alignments, spoken of above, are formed on the basis of old feuds, family friendships, political sentiments, and the like. Normally the guests of Sadiq Agha are not to be seen at the House of Isma'il Beg, and the reverse is true, although there need be no ill-feeling between the two groups. To draw up a chart of these matters would be complex and of little value, inasmuch as they are perpetually changing and are vast in number. To give some examples, Karim Agha never visits the House of Isma'il Beg because of a feud, nor those of Sayyid Ahmad and his brothers because the latter are friends of Lali Khan. His own friend, a Rashid Agha (not of Jindian) calls on Sadiq Agha, but does not visit Lali Khan or Sayyid Ahmad because of his friendship with Karim Agha. Mahmud Beg of the Baradost is friendly with Sayyid Ahmad, but has nothing to do with Sadiq Agha, and hence Karim Agha and his friend, because he does not sympathize with a feud in which Sadiq Agha was involved. To extend the matter further, Karim Agha does not patronize merchants in the bazar who are friends or clients of Lali Khan. Similarly, Sayyid Ahmad, whenever he visits the town, has no traffic with those who favor Karim Agha. This network of friendships and alliances among the aristocracy is an important feature of their life, but it need not extend to the

townspeople themselves, or to the government personnel, 692
although most of its details are commonplace. Marriages 565
between aristocratic houses often follow these alignments, 577
although now and then a wedding is arranged which will join [682]
two houses not normally friendly toward each other. A
chieftain with a number of daughters and sufficient wealth
and prestige to attract suitors can build up quite a system
of allies, thus increasing his own power, and the same can
be done with a number of sons.

Turning to the townspeople, who in the first system 565
constitute the mass of commoners, a rather confused social
hierarchy is revealed. Several concepts are responsible
for this, the first of which is that it is considered de- [664]
grading for men of the "upper" class to work with their
hands. The group of persons who are not so tainted, in
addition to the aristocracy, officials, and officers, thus
includes among the people of the town the clerks, land-
owners, scribes or priests, and businessmen, such as the
smaller merchants and the owners of the *cafétérias* and
the hotel. Such a person is termed *effendi* or "gentleman," [594]
and occupies the highest ranks of the commoner group. Two
examples are provided by *shaikh* Effendi and Ba'al effendi,
both landowners. In addition to their properties, Shaikh
Effendi is the clerk of the judge's court and Ba'al Effendi [491]
is the *scribe* or representative of the townspeople. The
chief *scribe* of the town is addressed as "Kaliz 'abd-el-
Karim Effendi." Literacy, a distinctive requirement of the [321]

in terms of the three questions just noted above. While in principle a man must marry in his own or a higher status, defined by employment and wealth, there is a constant struggle on the part of parents to arrange marriages for their offspring which will be socially advantageous. This ability, which has a moderate degree of realization, does not exist for the opposite ends of the spectrum, for example, the sons and daughters of a wealthy merchant would never wed those of a servant, but is rather to be found among those who neighbor each other in quality. The same things are true of masculine friendship, such as calling on an acquaintance's house. In America the officials of a company may visit each other and in other ways express their friendship, but an executive does not normally want an intimate among the workmen or pay visits to their wives. Just so in Rawanduz friends are to be found among those of comparable status. This is closely indicated by saying. A man can always have a joke at the expense of a inferior, but never the reverse. "Ameer, you do business like a child," a merchant said to one taken him at a disadvantage in a storytelling, evoking general laughter. The person in question could only share the hest, laughing at himself, and, of course, immediately sought out someone to push in return toward his own status. On the other hand, a lot been seen, servants, particularly those from the village where almost all belong to the same social stratum, think of themselves as members of the family, and regularly

the wives of other officials, although this is far from a common practice. The wife of an official can be extremely lonely so far as feminine companionship is concerned. Those women of the lower classes suffer no such inconvenience, and associate with each other with great freedom. There is no escape for women alone in the town, frequented by those of the lower classes, and is said by the townsmen to be used more as a clearing-house for idle talk than for pleasurable relations.

If the society of adults in Ravendur has its hierarchy, there is a very real, but short-lived, democracy for the children. The youngsters of all, officials, aristocrats, and townspeople, play with each other without any reference to the ranks of their parents, and choose their leaders in the same way. The son of a servant can be "chief'tain" over his fellows, and the daughter of a laborer the arbiter of their playmates. This stage passes without any apparent difficulty as the exigencies of life call them to different tasks, some to school and others to work in their fathers' shops. New friendships, better fitted to the demands of relative status, replace those of childhood. It need not be thought, however, that these early alliances do not extend into later life, although such acquaintances do not visit each other's homes.

In concluding this section, it is possible to relate the society of Ravendur not only to that of the town in Ottoman times, but to Iraq and the Middle East at large, and to present several observations of some importance.

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counsel him from any gossip. If one is married and accompanied by his spouse, her vigilance is considered sufficient and servants of any condition may be added to the household.

572.● Friendships contracted outside the ami, as noticed in the discussion of society, are, in childhood, formed between persons of comparable social status. A few lasting alliances may arise in childhood or adolescence, but most appear when the persons concerned have become adults. For all classes of society, only the men are free to associate with their friends in public. "A good friend helps one in distress with money, clothing, or food. The two friends visit each other almost every day, sitting together and discussing business or politics. If one of them is a bachelor and is consequently married, the other acts as his "servant," receiving guests and completing the arrangements of the wedding." While companions of this sort visit with each other in the house or the marae, and exchange gifts at their homes. Within the house, a friend is entertained in the ikirezibanza or guest-room, apart from the women, until, perhaps, both are married and the friendship is of long duration. Only under these last conditions is a man able to associate freely with his comrade's womenfolk. An old custom is sometimes observed between youths, a formalized exchange of kisses and spit, termed ajuna, within the house. If two male friends have not met for a long period, they greet by kissing each

other on the check. Women of the upper classes are much more restricted. If unmarried adults, they cannot ordinarily visit a strange house, and most of their friends are those derived from among their female relatives. It has been seen that the maids are welcome confidants of wealthy women. When married, they are able to accompany their husbands to other houses, the latter going to the Kiteekiteeza with the men while the women gather in one of the rooms. Women of lower station enjoy much greater freedom, talking with their neighbors out of doors and making use of the women's mosque. After reaching a marriageable age, there is no question of public friendship between boys and girls. If a youth wishes to speak to some maiden, the affair must take place with the greatest secrecy and there are only more opportunities for such exchanges.

572 ● 562 572 [357] [384] [382] 544

Turning now to the events of an individual of Rwandan through life, a person belonging to a family of moderate wealth, birth may be mentioned first. When a pregnant woman nears the moment of her delivery, a number of women, usually her relatives and friends, attend her in one of the rooms of her husband's house. The expectant father, other male relatives and friends, are not allowed to enter the place of delivery, but wait in the Kiteekiteeza or guest-room. A woman who was sent from the Queen is called, and when she returns all of the attendants rise. She is seated in a corner of the room and receives in a loud voice while the labor progresses. If such a woman be not available, a copy of the Koran is placed beside the [782]

[woman in labor].